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THE SALEM WITCH TRIALS FROM A LEGAL PERSPECTIVE;
THE IMPORTANCE OF SPECTRAL EVIDENCE RECONSIDERED

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History
The College of Williams and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by

Susan K. Ocksreider

1984

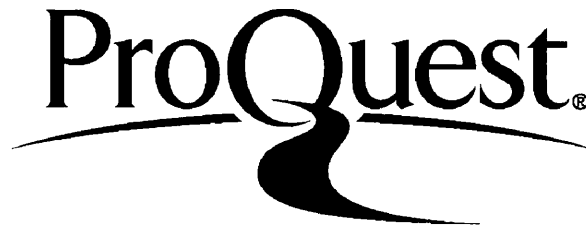
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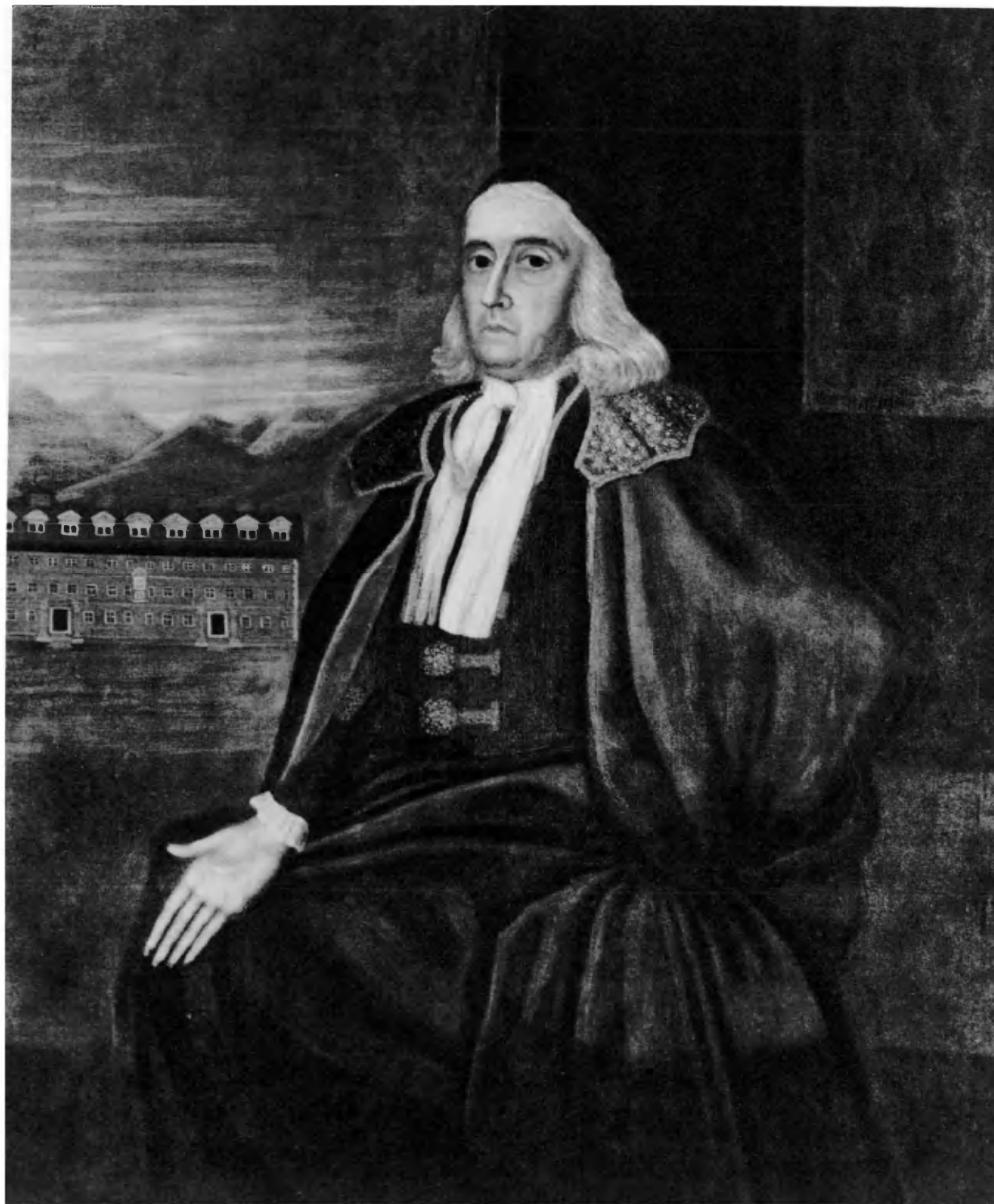
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APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

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TSusan B. Ockersider
Author

Approved, March 1984

Michael McGiffert
Michael McGiffert

James L. Axtell
James L. Axtell

James P. Whittenburg
James P. Whittenburg

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The photograph of Judge William Stoughton was taken from a portrait painted in 1770 by an unknown artist. It is part of the collection of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and is printed here with permission.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, for without their constant enthusiasm and support its completion would not have been possible.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Though only one name appears on this work, I am deeply indebted to many for their assistance in the preparation of this thesis. I wish to thank Dr. Francis J. Bremer for his interest in and support of my work. I am likewise indebted to Professor James Axtell and Professor James Whittenburg for their careful reading and helpful comments on this manuscript. I also wish to thank Hans Lorenz of Colonial Williamsburg for the photograph of Judge William Stoughton. A special thank you goes to my advisor, Dr. Michael McGiffert, for his guidance through the research and writing of this thesis.

ABSTRACT

"Thou shall not suffer a witch to live."¹ It was the application of this Biblical commandment in 1692, by a people whose very lives were governed by Scripture, that would send nineteen people to their deaths.

The Salem witch trials, often called the darkest page in the history of New England, have long been a topic for research and debate by American historians. In their efforts to further understand motivating forces behind the events of 1692, researchers have investigated subjects ranging from the psychological state of the afflicted to the economic and social problems plaguing the Salem community. Some authors have written to indict the Puritans, others to explain their delusions.² Nearly all are agreed in criticizing the trial magistrates for what appears to have been their disregard of English precedent and for allowing unconventional types of evidence, specifically spectral evidence, to be entered into court. Spectral evidence, or the appearance of an apparition in the shape of the accused, and its admissibility caused much concern for the Salem magistrates. This type of evidence could neither be proven nor disproven owing to its unearthly nature. It was accepted in New England courts--of that there is no doubt. Most historians have been quick to state that it nearly always ensured a guilty verdict. Chadwick Hansen, in his well-received work Witchcraft at Salem, expresses the belief held by most historians that "the judges had committed themselves to the validity of specter evidence,"³ yet like those before him, he fails to substantiate his claim. By simply assuming that this evidence was crucial to convictions, scholars have in a sense been guilty of the same charges which they have repeatedly leveled against the Puritan magistrates--failure to fully examine all facets of a case before rendering judgment.

While witches in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were occasionally subjected to the fury of the local citizenry, in both England and America witchcraft was a legally recognized crime with stipulated procedures to be followed in arraignment, prosecution, and conviction. Only by thoroughly examining these legal procedures and their adoption, modification, and use in the Salem trials will scholars gain a more sensitive and accurate understanding of this period of New England history.

1. Exodus 22:18.
2. See, for instance, Charles Adams, Three Episodes in Massachusetts History (2 Vol.: Boston, 1892), Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, Salem Possessed (Cambridge, 1974), and Marion Starkey, The Devil in Massachusetts (New York, 1950).
3. Chadwick Hansen, Witchcraft at Salem (New York, 1969), 166-167.

THE SALEM WITCH TRIALS FROM A LEGAL PERSPECTIVE;
THE IMPORTANCE OF SPECTRAL EVIDENCE RECONSIDERED

CHAPTER I

WITCHCRAFT IN ENGLAND

Though witchcraft and devil worship in England have been traced as far back as Alfred the Great (871-899), the first English statute prohibiting such practices was not enacted until 1542, during the reign of Henry VIII. Before that date, the legal position of the black arts is not altogether clear, though it appears that civil prosecutions were scarce. The statute of 1542 made witchcraft a felony without benefit of clergy. Punishments handed down to those found guilty varied with the nature and consequences of their acts. Reasons for practicing the black arts ranged from searching for lost property or treasure to injuring others, damaging private property, or ultimately causing the death of an individual.⁴

In 1563, during the reign of Elizabeth, Parliament passed an "Act agaynst Conjuracions, Enchantments, and Witchcrafts." Elaborating on an earlier statute, the act defined several gradations of witchcraft. The law declared that "Who shall use, practice, or exercise any witchcraft, exchantment, charme, or sorcerie whereby any person shall happen to be killed or destroyed shall suffer paynes of dethe as a felon or felons."⁵ In cases where personal injury or property damage resulted, a one-year prison sentence was the punishment if the witch was a first offender. The penalty for a second conviction was death.

4. William Blackstone, Commentaries on the Laws of England (Boston, 1765-1769), 57.

5. Ronald Holmes, Witchcraft in British History (London, 1974), 88.

This law was enforced until 1604, when it was replaced by a new and more severe act "against Conjuratation, Witchcraft and dealing with evil and wicked spirits."⁶ This law took the Elizabethan act one step further by stipulating death for anyone found guilty of injuring an individual or damaging property through witchery. This applied to all, regardless of whether the guilty party had any previous convictions. In addition to these changes, a great deal more emphasis was placed on the punishment of those intending to practice witchcraft as well as those who actually did.

The laws in force during the reign of James I provided that a suspect of witchery was to be examined to determine if there was sufficient evidence to warrant a formal hearing. The question of the definition of sufficient and admissible evidence created problems unique to cases of suspected witchcraft. Evidence in a normal criminal trial consisted either of testimony of at least two direct witnesses or a confession of guilt by the accused. In The Trial of Witchcraft, John Cotta concluded that the secret nature of the crime made standard evidence unlikely. It was only possible to testify to the motives of a suspect and the effects of the "bewitching," since this satanic force operated in an invisible way.⁷

It was therefore found necessary to formulate and classify the types of evidence that would be allowed in preliminary examinations and trials. Testimony fell roughly into three categories -- strong presumptions, sufficient proofs, and miscellaneous other evidence. The first classification included the testimony of a party who had been injured after being cursed by the suspected witch. Such evidence also included any ties the suspect had with a known witch, either by blood or by association. Failure to

6. Ibid., 109.

7. John Cotta, The Trial of Witchcraft (London, 1624), 23.

pass the water test also constituted strong presumption. This test consisted of binding the suspect witch and dropping him or her into a body of water. If the accused sank, their body had been accepted by the pure water and they were therefore innocent. If the suspect floated it was noted in court and as evidence weighed heavily against them.

Evidence constituting sufficient proof ranged from accusations made by other convicted witches to the presence of a preternatural mark on the body of the accused. Such growths, commonly called witches' teats, were believed to be the places at which the Devil nursed. Often it was difficult to establish their existence. In some cases, the mark was found when the suspect was first examined but was not present when a later search was conducted. If, however, the presence of such a teat was confirmed, it was regarded by many justices as the most damaging form of evidence.⁸ Sufficient proof could also be claimed if two witnesses actually saw the accused make a pact with the Devil or had seen the suspect participating in a witches' meeting.⁹

Falling under the third heading was a wide and varied list of acceptable evidence that included the possession by the accused of articles belonging to the victim, the bleeding of a corpse when touched by the suspected witch, and an injury to a person who had received a gift from the accused. Confessions by suspects fell under this heading, though few were ever made.¹⁰

It is important to note that spectral evidence does not appear in any of these categories. The types of evidence aforementioned were considered tangible proof of witchery. Since few records exist for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century witchcraft cases, it is difficult to determine exactly

8. Barbara Rosen, Witchcraft (New York, 1969), 23.

9. Alan Macfarlane, Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England; A Regional and Comparative Study (New York, 1970), 18.

10. Ibid.

how much weight was given to each type. However, because spectral evidence received little if any attention at that time, the conclusion may be drawn that it had little effect in court proceedings.

If sufficient evidence was presented during the preliminary examination, trial was then ordered. English law required that at least two witnesses testify against the accused. Since witnesses in witchcraft cases were often difficult to find, no class of persons was debarred. Spouses and children of the accused and "fearful, superstitious, or old silly persons" were permitted to testify. However, the justices did take into consideration the witnesses' age, character, social position, and relationship with the accused in weighing their depositions.¹¹

If an accused witch was found guilty, the punishment was death by hanging, though if treason had also been committed, the offender might be burned instead. Isolated cases of burnings have helped to contribute to the myth that witches were customarily burned at the stake. Such punishment was used on the Continent during the Middle Ages when witches were burned as heretics, but in England burning was exceptional.¹²

Witch-hunts continued during the reign of Charles I but took on a different tone during the English Revolution with the appearance of Matthew Hopkins, a self-appointed witch-finder general. From 1644 to 1646 Hopkins was the arch-instigator of persecutions that resulted in the executions of over one hundred people. A lawyer by training, he traveled through Essex rounding up those believed guilty of entertaining Satan. Though torture was not permitted by law, Hopkins engaged in it as a means of "encouraging" confessions. Those accused were usually confined to a small

11. Richard Bernard, A Guide to Grand Jury Men in Cases of Witchcraft (London, 1627), 228-238.

12. Macfarlane, Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England, 16.

room. There they were stripped and searched for a witch's teat, then either bound or made to walk for periods of up to three days, deprived of both food and water. During this time, their accusers kept watch for the appearance of familiars, devils in the shape of small animals.¹³ If no confession of guilt was made, the accused was brought before the local justices for formal examination. Though rules concerning admissible evidence were lax, the judges weighed certain types of evidence more heavily than others. While hearsay and spectral testimony were permitted, the justices treated them as other bits of circumstantial evidence. The most damning evidence was of a physical nature -- the appearance of a familiar or the possession of a teat. Second to these in importance were the inability to recite the Lord's Prayer correctly or to weep openly in the courtroom, and failing to pass the water test. Those found guilty were hanged unless treason was also committed. In such cases, the guilty were hanged, let down while still alive, then drawn and quartered.¹⁴

Leaving a trail of death as he traveled throughout England's eastern countries, Matthew Hopkins turned neighbor against neighbor and even encouraged family members to question the behavior of one another. Fortunately, his momentum flagged as his health failed, and by 1646, his work had ended, but, ironically, not before he himself had been accused of witchery. Unlike so many of those he accused, he was found innocent.¹⁵

By about 1653, political and social equilibrium had been restored to England. The years of the Cromwellian Protectorate saw only a handful of executions for witchcraft, with most occurring during the brief unstable

13. Macfarlane, Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England, 135-136.

14. Rosen, Witchcraft, 52.

15. Macfarlane, Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England, 135-136.

rule of Richard Cromwell.¹⁶ Though there was a marked decrease in convictions after 1653, it would be seriously mistaken to assume that this decline was due to the debunking of the superstition. Witches were still actively prosecuted, but most of those brought to trial were "good witches," healers and practitioners of magic without intending to bring harm. For such cases, the penalty was usually just a small fine. But the story of witchcraft does not end here.

In March 1664 a witchcraft trial was held in Bury St. Edmunds. It had no general impact in England as only two women were convicted, but years later the magistrates of Salem, Massachusetts, would look to this case as precedent; in the words of Cotton Mather, "It was a tryal much considered by the judges of New England."¹⁷ When the Court of Assize, presided over by Matthew Hale, met that spring in Suffolk, Rose Cullender and Amy Duny, both widows, were indicted on charges of bewitching Anne, Elizabeth and William Durent, Jane Bocking, Susan Chandler, and Elizabeth and Deborah Pacy. Evidence of all types was presented. Upon seeing the women, their accusers fell into strange and violent fits. Several were struck dumb, regaining the use of their faculties only after the accused were found guilty. Dorothy Durent told the court of an argument she had had with the accused Amy Duny. After a visit to the Durent home, the suspect left, cursing the family and stating that Durent's child would die and that Dorothy would become lame. Within the week, Dorothy's daughter was dead and Dorothy herself had lost the use of her legs. Similar testimony involving illness following an argument with the accused was presented by Samuel Pacy. Other relatives and neighbors of the afflicted noted the presence of mice

16. Wallace Notestein, A History of Witchcraft in England (New York, 1911), 220.

17. George Kittredge, Witchcraft in Old and New England (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), 333.

and other small creatures, said to be imps, sent by the two suspects. Upon examination, several women identified teats on the body of Rose Cullender. During the trial, a number of experiments were carried out on the afflicted. While blindfolded, the defendants were touched by various people present. The fits experienced by the accusers were only relieved when one of the two women placed her hands upon them. After witnessing such scenes and listening to further testimony concerning property damage and two accounts of spectral appearances, the jury and justices retired to consider the verdict.

In determining such cases, judges and juries looked to published discourses on the treatment of cases of witchcraft.¹⁸ Probably the most widely accepted was Michael Dalton's, The Countrey Justice, which contained a section on the "Discovery of Witches."¹⁹ Dalton listed some twenty-two different "principles" that should be considered as evidence and concluded that the sighting of familiars and the presence of a teat were the strongest types, with a confession being the only surer sign. Another highly influential tract was Richard Bernard's A Guide to Grand Jury Men in Cases of Witchcraft, 1627. Like Dalton, Bernard stated that familiars and teats were the most damning forms of evidence.²⁰ Neither author approved the use of spectral testimony. While it might be admitted as evidence, Dalton and Bernard held that it should not be given great consideration since, in Bernard's words, "The strong imagination of one who thinks he is bewitched will make them think they see strange apparitions and dreams of

18. See, for example, John Cotta, The Trial of Witchcraft; Thomas Cooper, The Mystery of Witchcraft; Discovering the Truth Thereof (London, 1617); and Joseph Glanville, Saducismus Triumphatus or Full and Plain Evidence Concerning Witches (London, 1682).

19. Michael Dalton, The Countrey Justice (London, 1618).

20. Bernard, Guide, 199-200.

the suspected."²¹ Clearly, both authors saw danger in giving much importance to spectral testimony.

The overwhelming majority of testimony given in the Bury St. Edmunds trial was in the form of physical proof and, by its nature, much easier for jurists to accept and comprehend. The presence of familiars and witch's teats were considered damaging enough to justify a verdict of guilty. Though two accounts involving spectral visitations were given, it appears that they had little impact on the verdict, given the strength of the other evidence. After consulting the works of Dalton and Bernard, the Bury St. Edmunds jury returned a verdict of guilty on the thirteen charges of the indictment. As the sentences were read, Dorothy Durent regained the use of her legs and the health of the afflicted youths returned. Amy Duny and Rose Cullender were hanged on March 17, 1664.²²

In 1682, three Devonshire women were found guilty of witchery and executed. However, by the close of the 1680's witchcraft prosecutions were rare. The last recorded witch trial in England occurred in 1717. With the acquittal of the accused, justices began to nullify those laws on the statute books that dealt with the black arts, so that by roughly 1720 there came the official closing of a long and dark chapter in English legal history.²³

Due to the incompleteness and, in some cases, the nonexistence of court records for witch trials, only general estimates can be formed of the numbers executed from 1563 until the last hanging in 1682. Under Elizabeth, the state began to prosecute cases of witchcraft, but surviving records do not indicate the numbers convicted and executed. During the reign of

21. Ibid., 199.

22. Edmund Heward, Matthew Hale (London, 1972), 71-78.

23. Wallace Notestein, A History of Witchcraft in England (New York, 1911), 321.

James I, some thirty to fifty were hanged. These cases, all but one of which occurred in the first fifteen years of the reign, clearly do not indicate that large-scale and bloody witch-hunts were common. Prosecutions and convictions peaked in England while Charles I reigned and during the time of the Long Parliament, with over three hundred being hanged, many as a result of the efforts of Matthew Hopkins. The Commonwealth period saw a drastic drop in convictions. From the 1640's on, justices began demanding higher standards of proof as a result of works like those of Dalton and Bernard. While it cannot be ascertained that greater concern for such physical evidence as familiars and teats was solely responsible for the decline in cases and convictions, it can be inferred that emphasis on tangible proof did play some role in the reduction of cases.²⁴ It is clear at any rate that spectral evidence played only a very minor role in witchcraft prosecutions and in the applicable code of law and customs.

24. Barbara Shapiro, Probability and Certainty in Seventeenth-Century England (Princeton, 1983), 206.

CHAPTER II

WITCHCRAFT IN SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS

Arriving in the New World, English settlers brought with them not only English institutions of church and state but also a long and rich history of devil worship and the occult. Outbreaks of disease, meteorological changes, and the failure of crops were often believed to be the result of witchery. As a result, outbreaks of witchcraft and its persecution were persistent features of life in much of colonial America, especially New England.

Building upon the witchcraft laws of England, the New England Puritans wrote their own statute to deal with those who dabbled in the black arts. Incorporated into the Body of Liberties of 1641, the law read: "If any man or woeman be a witch, (that is hath or consulteth with a familiar spirit,) they shall be put to death."¹ In addition to using English precedents in forming the law, the Puritans relied heavily on scripture, particularly Exodus 22:18, Leviticus 20:27, and Deuteronomy 18:10, all of which discuss the punishment for those found guilty of witchcraft. The incompleteness of early court records makes it difficult to ascertain specific details on individuals. However, judging from those records that do survive, it seems that executions before 1692 were few.²

The 1641 law fell short of clearly specifying actions that constituted the practice of witchcraft, but it remained unchanged for fifty years

1. The Liberties of the Massachusetts Colonie in New England, 1641 (Boston, 1641), Article 94, Capital Laws #2.
2. John Demos, Entertaining Satan; Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England, (New York, 1982), 402-409.

until Massachusetts experienced its largest and most violent outbreak of witchcraft persecution. The essence of the crime of witchcraft in America, as it had been in England, was not the mere belief in or following of the Devil's ways but rather "maleficium" or the harming of one's neighbors by employing the use of evil spirits. This would characterize Massachusetts and more specifically Salem witchcraft. As in England, those found guilty of practicing witchcraft were sentenced to be hanged. Only in cases involving treason or the bewitching of a spouse to death were those found guilty burned. For those who refused to enter a plea, the penalty of pressing was imposed. This punishment, also used in England, consisted of placing heavy weights on the suspects until they either entered a plea or were crushed to death.

The Massachusetts law against witchcraft remained in effect until 1684, when the colony's charter was revoked. This placed the law in a state of limbo, and so the prosecution of the suspected witches was temporarily suspended. In 1692, under a new charter, special provisions were added to the former witchcraft law. Those suspected of the crime were to receive a preliminary hearing before a local magistrate. If, as in England, there was sufficient evidence against the accused, the case would be tried by the newly formed Court of Oyer and Terminer, a court used only on particular occasions, as during periods of insurrection.³ It was the responsibility of the magistrates and jury of that court to determine the guilt or innocence of the accused.

The Massachusetts legal system was put to its most severe test by the 1692 witchcraft prosecutions in Salem Village. Spawned by the hysteria of a group of young girls and fueled by local and provincial anxieties,

3. Henry Black, Black's Law Dictionary (St. Paul, Minn., 1962), 1261.

what started as a local disturbance soon became an orgy of accusations that riveted the attention of the region and led to the arrest of over one hundred individuals. The earliest accusations came from members of the Parris family and were directed against other Salem residents, but by the conclusion of this outbreak of persecutions, over twenty-two other towns were represented in the proceedings by defendants.

Arriving in Massachusetts, the newly chosen governor, William Phips, called for the formation of a Court of Oyer and Terminer to "hear and determine" those cases involving witchcraft. To the bench Phips named "persons of the best prudence and figure."⁴ As in the case of elected magistrates, those selected by Phips were prominent citizens of the colony. Phips chose William Stoughton, lieutenant-governor of the colony, to preside over the court. A former minister, Stoughton was a very intelligent and competent man. Like his peers, he was a firm believer in witches and one who saw death as the only appropriate punishment for those found guilty. Serving under Chief Justice Stoughton were Samuel Sewell, author, scholar, and a well-respected member of the community, John Hathorne, and Jonathon Corwin, both well-qualified and highly regarded magistrates. The court also included John Richards, Nathaniel Saltonstall, Wait Winthrop, and Peter Sargeant, but they took less active roles in the trials. A more experienced court could not have been assembled anywhere in English North America.⁵ In addition to the justices, there was a small jury responsible for rendering the verdict. This panel was usually of like mind with the justices and played a subordinate role. However, should the judges disagree with the jury's decision for any reason, they were permitted to send them

4. Edwin Powers, Crime and Punishment in Early Massachusetts (Boston, 1968), 476.

5. Hansen, Witchcraft at Salem, 162.

out to reconsider the evidence.

The Salem justices looked to England with her lengthy history of witch persecutions to determine what evidence was admissible in court. To ease their job, the magistrates openly encouraged public confessions. To elicit such confessions, the accused were often subjected to long and tedious examinations. The suspects were forced to stand for lengthy periods without sleep or food while being questioned. Physical abuse was used in some cases. Records indicate that several suspects were bound by the neck and heels until blood ran from their noses.⁶ These methods appear to have been extremely effective as more than fifty individuals admitted to practicing witchcraft. Though a confession was no guarantee against punishment, no one who admitted his guilt was hanged in Salem. Public admission of guilt was thought to break the covenant between the accused and the Devil. It is not known how many of the confessors were actually practicing witches. It can only be suggested that at the risk of causing intense remorse, some may have lied and pleaded guilty to save themselves from the gallows.

A second and very damaging type of evidence concerned the visible actions of the afflicted girls. They were made to stand in the courtroom and their actions recorded when the accused were brought in. Upon seeing the suspect, the afflicted often fell into violent and hysterical fits. This suggested to many that the accused must surely be guilty if the mere sight of him or her could cause such horrible suffering. This type of evidence was present in all of those cases that ended in a guilty verdict, as compared to only forty-one percent of the trials whose defendants were acquitted. This seems to indicate that this very visible form of testimony

6. Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, eds., Salem Witchcraft (New York, 1977), II, 689.

was weighed heavily by the Salem magistrates. During his pretrial hearing, John Alden questioned the validity of such a test, asking why the afflicted girls experienced fits upon seeing or being seen by the accused, and all others did not. Alden's well-grounded query was for the most part ignored and unanswered. While the girls were still experiencing the seizures, the accused was told to touch them. It was believed that by touching those stricken, the evil would leave the afflicted persons "pure and whole."⁷ Though some objected to this test, believing it toyed with the Devil's power, in most cases the touch did produce immediate relief for the afflicted and helped to build an even stronger case against the accused. It was also noted that certain actions of the accused caused pain in the afflicted. During the trial of Martha Corey, the girls cried out in extreme agony when she wrung her hands, saying they were being pinched. When Corey bit her lips, the girls screamed that they could feel her teeth tear through their flesh. When Ann Putnam testified against Corey, she like the others complained of being bitten, and upon examination, tooth marks were found on Ann Putnam's arm.⁸ Needless to say, after the presentation of such damaging evidence, Martha Corey was found guilty and hanged.

In looking for more tangible proof of guilt, officials borrowed the English practice of searching for a "Devil's mark." Like their English counterparts, the Salem justices looked to Dalton's Countrey Justice for legal advice in matters of witchcraft. Dalton described this Devil's teat as being some "big or little teat upon their body in some secret place where he (the Devil) sucketh them. And besides their sucking, the Devil leaveth other marks upon their body, sometimes like a blew spot or red spot,

7. Sanford Fox, Science and Justice (Baltimore, 1968), 74.

8. Boyer and Nissenbaum, Salem Witchcraft Papers, I, 265.

like a flea-biting; sometimes the flesh sunk in and hollow. And these Devil's marks be insensible, and being pricked will not bleed, and be often in the secretest parts, and therefore require diligent and careful search."⁹ While in prison, the Salem suspects were stripped and searched by members of their own sex. If such a preternatural mark was found, its presence was noted, and as evidence it would weigh heavily against the accused. A teat was present on twenty-six percent of those found guilty and on only two-and-a-half percent of those acquitted, indicating that the presence of a teat was taken into great consideration by the magistrates before they rendered a verdict.

In order to determine the guilt or innocence of the accused, the testimonies of confessed witches were allowed in court. These people who had earlier renounced God in the name of the Devil were now swearing an oath to God in order to incriminate others. It is surprising that few questioned the credibility of statements made by people described as "crazed and distempered" and "under the influence of the Devil."¹⁰ However, the justices apparently took this into consideration. Confessed witches testified in twenty-six percent of the cases that received a guilty verdict and in fifteen percent of those that received acquittals. These figures reveal that while accepted as evidence, testimony by alleged witches was given little weight unless accompanied by more tangible proof.

Another type of evidence concerned mischief following an argument. In several cases, it was noted that the accused had become angered with a second party and threatened him, and that later some illness or destruction of property had occurred to the second party. Concerning harm to one's

9. Dalton, Countrey Justice, 342.

10. George Burr, ed: Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases (New York, 1914), 173.

property, Samuel and Mary Abbey claimed that at the hour of Sarah Good's arrest a cow that they believed she had cursed to death suddenly recovered "and could rise as well as if she had ailed nothing."¹¹ Though this type of evidence was declared admissible in court, it was recognized as flawed. Anger and mischief could be proven, but since the actual deed was supposedly carried out by some supernatural being, there was always some doubt as to the validity of this proof. It was presented in thirty-two percent of the guilty cases and in five percent of those declared innocent. Like the testimony given by convicted witches, reports of mischief were admissible but carried less weight unless accompanied by more empirical proof.

A simple test for witches that was used often involved reciting certain passages from Scripture. The Lord's Prayer was often chosen for the test. It was believed that this prayer was spoken backwards by witches on their own sabbath and because of this they would be unable to recite it correctly when ordered to do so. Sarah Good was required to take just such a test, and it was recorded that she could only "mutter . . . over some part of the psalm" and was reluctant to "mention the word of God."¹²

Though it is difficult to state precisely how much weight was given to each type of evidence, that which was given great consideration by the magistrates concerned illness or death following an argument with the accused. Testimony of this nature was recorded in eighty-four percent of those cases in which a guilty verdict was rendered and in only ten percent of those where the defendant was acquitted. This type of evidence no doubt played a large role in the conviction of Susannah Martin. Several of her neighbors testified to becoming ill following arguments with Martin, and a William Brown went as far as to accuse her of causing his wife's

11. Boyer and Nissenbaum, Salem Witchcraft Papers, II, 15.

12. Ibid., 12.

death.

As in England, testimony involving the appearance of familiars was considered very damaging to a defendant's case. These strange creatures, often taking the shape of animals, were mentioned in forty-seven percent of those cases that received guilty verdicts and in only thirteen percent of those that ended in acquittal.

The category of evidence that caused the most difficulty for authorities was spectral evidence. In nearly every recorded case, there was some mention of a visit by the specter of the accused, with the specter often physically assaulting the person and attempting to force him to sign the Devil's black book. Admitting this form of evidence in court caused much debate between those who favored its use and those who saw it as toying with the supernatural. The Mathers argued that such dreams or hallucinations only served to illustrate the psychological condition of the accuser and not the behavior of the accused. The question was raised whether God would allow the Devil to take the shape of an innocent person. In response, it was pointed out that the Devil appeared in the likeness of the prophet Samuel (II Chronicles 10:13), and in II Corinthians 11:14 Satan transformed himself into the Angel of Light, thus showing that "He, the Devil, represents evil men as good and good men as evil."¹³ Spectral evidence was allowed in court, but because there was no way to disprove this type of accusation, it carried little weight unless backed up with more empirical evidence. Though historians have long stated the importance of spectral evidence, a closer examination of the cases makes it quite clear that its presence alone was not enough to ensure a conviction. Spectral evidence was given in seventy-nine percent of those trials that resulted in a guilty verdict

13. Increase Mather, Cases of Conscience Concerning Evil Spirits (Boston, 1693), 2-3.

and in seventy-three percent of those that received acquittals. Obviously, if spectral evidence was as damaging as believed, the rates of conviction would have been much higher. An examination of some of the better-known cases makes clear the relatively insignificant role that spectral evidence had in the proceedings and that evidence which led to the convictions.

Sarah Good was the first to be tried and found guilty, though not the first hanged. She was an elderly woman held in low esteem by the Salem community and given to the practice of delivering curses. For these reasons, few were probably surprised when she was named by Elizabeth Parris, Abigail Williams, Ann Putnam, and Elizabeth Hubbard as their bewitcher. Good pleaded innocent to the charges and accused Sarah Osborne of afflicting the children. Tituba, the first confessed witch, testified that she had seen Good practice witchcraft and sign her name to the Devil's book, and that Good was responsible for torturing the girls. She also claimed to have witnessed a small yellow bird, Good's familiar, suckle between her forefinger and long finger of her right hand.¹⁴ Henry Herrick, a member of the Salem community told the court that Good came to his home seeking lodgings. After refusing her request for a place to stay, Herrick claimed that Good placed a curse on him, declaring that his harsh treatment of her would cost him several cattle. One week later, two of Herrick's cattle were missing.¹⁵ Samuel and Mary Abbey testified that they had allowed Good and her husband to reside with them, but were eventually forced to ask them to leave on account of Sarah's "spiteful and malicious" nature. Ever since their departure, the Abbeys claimed they had been victims of Good's bewitching. In two years, more than seventeen head of cattle had died without explanation, in addition to the loss of several sheep and

14. Boyer and Nissenbaum, eds: Salem Witchcraft Papers, II, 362.

15. Ibid., 375.

hogs. When they told Good of their misfortune, she declared that she did not care if the Abbeys lost all their livestock.¹⁶ Sarah Good's husband testified that "he was afraid that she was either a witch or would be one very quickly."¹⁷ He also claimed to have seen the witches' teat on her body, but when she was examined by several matrons, no mark was found. In corroborating the testimony of Tituba, Dorcas Good, daughter of the accused, told the court her mother had several familiars given to her by the Devil. These were two small birds and a thing with "wings and two legs and a head like a woman," and according to Dorcas, these familiars caused suffering in children.¹⁸ During her hearing, Good was asked to look at the afflicted. As expected, the girls fell into seizures which were only relieved when she placed her hands upon them. In addition to this evidence against Good, several members of the community claimed to have been visited by her specter and physically abused by it. Elizabeth Hubbard testified that the apparition of Good came to her during the examination and did "most grievously afflict and torture her during that time" and then went on to abuse Elizabeth Parris, Abigail Williams, and Ann Putnam in a similar manner.¹⁹ After considering the evidence presented, the jury returned with a verdict of guilty. Though spectral evidence was presented during her trial, it was greatly outweighed by what was seen as more tangible proof of guilt, namely testimony concerning familiars and property destruction following arguments with the accused.

A woman of questionable character, Susannah Martin was arrested on charges of witchcraft in April 1692. During her pretrial examination and subsequent hearing, a wide and varied list of evidence was presented

16. Ibid., 368.

17. Samuel Drake, Annals of Witchcraft in New England (New York, 1869), 58.

18. Hansen, Witchcraft at Salem, 64.

19. Boyer and Nissenbaum, Salem Witchcraft Papers, II, 372.

against her. As Martin entered the courtroom, the afflicted girls all experienced violent fits. Similar outbursts occurred throughout the trial. Several of her neighbors claimed to have been tormented by her devil creatures or familiars. Bernard Peach and Abigail Williams both claimed to have been visited by the apparition of Martin and tortured by it. By far the most numerous charges brought against her concerned the illness or death of an individual following a visit by Martin to his home. William Brown testified that his wife became grievously ill and died soon after being cursed by the suspect. Similar accounts of illness following arguments with Martin were made by her neighbors and other residents of Salem. Joseph Ring, a young man from Salisbury, claimed that while out walking, he saw Martin turn herself into a black hog before vanishing into a nearby forest.²⁰ Others stated that they had seen her fly. Martin was examined twice for a witch's teat. None was found during the first examination but several were identified following a second physical and their existence noted during the trial. After a long and emotional hearing, the jury found Susannah Martin guilty of witchcraft and so she was hanged on July 19, 1692. Again, spectral evidence was given but it was the presence of a witches' teat and the instances of illness or death following visits by Martin that ultimately led to her conviction.

In the case of Rebecca Nurse, it was the testimony concerning illness and death following visits by the accused and what was believed to be a confession of guilt that led to her execution. Rebecca Nurse, a church member considered by many to be a kind and caring woman, was accused by Edward and Jonathan Putnam of bewitching Ann Putnam and Abigail Williams. Nurse claimed that she was innocent, yet the afflicted fell into fits when

20. Ibid., 564.

they saw her. At Nurse's preliminary hearing, Justice Hathorne's sister and brother-in-law testified on her behalf. Thirty-nine of her friends and neighbors signed a petition stating that Nurse had lived a Christian life and was in no way a witch. One of the signers was Jonathan Putnam, the same man who had written the original petition accusing Nurse of witchcraft. During her trial, a variety of evidence was presented against her. It was noted that following an argument with neighbor Ben Holton over the damage of a portion of Nurse's land by Holton's livestock, Holton was seized by strange and violent fits which eventually led to death.²¹ After she visited the Putnam house, the healthy eight-week-old Putnam child began suffering from fits similar to those experienced by Holton. These seizures also led to the death of the infant. Several of the afflicted girls claimed to have been visited by the specter of Nurse. During such visits, the girls said they were bitten, pinched, and nearly choked to death by Nurse. The jury found her not guilty. This verdict caused an uproar in the courtroom. The magistrates, not satisfied with the decision, asked that the jury reconsider the evidence. A confessed witch, Goodwife Hobbs, and her daughter were then brought to testify against Nurse. Upon seeing the witnesses, Nurse exclaimed, "What do these persons give in evidence against me now, they used to come among us."²² By this Nurse later explained, she meant that the witnesses were also prisoners, but the court interpreted such a statement to mean that she, Nurse, was also a witch. The jury recessed to reconsider the evidence and returned this time with a verdict of guilty. According to juryman Thomas Fisk, Nurse's final remarks "were to me a principal evidence against her."²³ Rebecca Nurse was hanged

21. Ibid., 600.

22. Ibid., 607.

23. Ibid., 608.

on July 19, 1692. Spectral testimony was given during her trial, yet she was found innocent. It was not until her outburst, interpreted as a confession of guilt, that the jury reversed its decision and found her guilty.

When Bridget Bishop appeared before the court in 1692, it was not the first time she had been charged with witchcraft. She had been accused of bewitching her first husband to death, but with the help of the Reverend John Hale the charges had been dropped. When she appeared for a second time, she was charged with bewitching several neighbors, to which she pleaded innocent. During the trial her husband testified that she was a practicing witch. Two workmen, employed to repair a wall in her home, claimed to have found several small puppets in the basement. Such dolls were known to be used by witches. Despite Bishop's insistence that she had no idea of how they got into her house, this evidence proved to be very damaging. A cloth dyer claimed that Bishop had brought him lace to dye, lace too small for adult garments but sufficient for a doll's clothing. A jury of women found a preternatural teat on her body, but when she was searched a second time, the mark could not be found. This incident served only to heighten suspicion. Samuel and Sarah Shattuck testified that following a visit by the accused, several of their children began suffering from strange and violent fits.²⁴ Several claimed that Bishop's specter had appeared and tortured them until they agreed to sign the Devil's book. John Lauder, age thirty-two, testified that late one evening he awoke to find the likeness of Bridget Bishop sitting on his stomach. According to Lauder, this image tried to choke him before she disappeared.²⁵ One of the afflicted girls, Susanna Sheldon, told the jury she had seen Bishop

24. Ibid., 97.

25. Ibid., 100.

accept a small pig from the Black Man, the Devil, and allowed it to suckle before she gave it back to him.²⁶ Another testified that he had taken a bewitched child to Bishop in an effort to get close enough to her to scratch her face and thus break the spell she had over the child. Bishop avoided being scratched and instead scratched the child. According to the witness, the fits of the child grew worse as a result of Bishop's actions. Evidence and public opinion were overwhelmingly against Bridget Bishop. She was found guilty of witchcraft and hanged on June 10, 1692, the first of nineteen to be executed. Spectral evidence was presented against her but it clearly was the presence of a witch's teat, the puppets, the sighting of a familiar, and the testimony involving illness after visits by Bishop that led to her conviction and execution.

One of the most noted victims, and the only clergyman to be indicted as a servant of the Devil, was the Reverend George Burroughs. He has served as minister in the Salem Village church from 1680 to 1682, leaving to join a parish in Maine. In April 1692, Ann Putnam reported to authorities that the specter of a minister came to her with a book to sign. The specter said he was responsible for the deaths of his first two wives, and before leaving, he told Putnam his name was George Burroughs. Mercy Lewis and Abigail Hobbs reported similar sightings to officials. George Burroughs was arrested and brought back to stand trial on charges of witchcraft. During his hearing, eight confessed witches testified that Burroughs led several witch meetings and was responsible for their signing the Devil's book. Thomas Greenslit and Samuel Webber both testified to Burroughs's acts of superhuman strength. They recalled the time Burroughs lifted a huge musket by simply inserting his forefinger into the barrel of the

26. Ibid., 106.

gun, and lifted a barrel of molasses using only two fingers.²⁷ Burroughs's earlier bragging of possessing occult powers would also come back to haunt him during the trial. Hannah Harris testified that upon his return home, Burroughs argued with her and his wife, saying he knew exactly what they had said about him while he was away.²⁸ Others claimed to have been awakened at night to find the specter of Burroughs sitting on their beds. One of the more bizarre testimonies came from Elizar Keyser. Following a visit to the home of the accused, Keyser returned home to find nearly one dozen jelly-like creatures in one room. These creatures were seen by both Keyser's wife and maid before they disappeared up the chimney.²⁹ Keyser claimed that these were familiars sent by Burroughs. After hearing all of the evidence against Burroughs, the jury rendered a guilty verdict. Burroughs claimed he was innocent until the very end. As a final act, he recited the Lord's Prayer perfectly while standing on the gallows. Unfortunately, it was a case of too little too late. His hanging went on as scheduled. During his trial, spectral evidence was presented, but it appears to have been overshadowed by the presence of familiars, supernatural powers, and being seen at witch meetings in addition of the afflicted experiencing fits upon seeing Burroughs.

In March 1692, Martha Corey was arrested by Salem officials and charged with bewitching Ann Putnam, Mercy Lewis, and Abigail Williams. It was during Corey's trial that a typical kind of behavior first appeared. If the accused bit her lip or wrung her hands, the afflicted girls cried out that they were being bitten and pinched. Such a phenomenon must have had some impact on those who witnessed it. Upon examination, it was noted the several of the children had bruises that could have resulted from

27. Ibid., 160.

28. Ibid., 163.

29. Ibid., 177.

being physically abused. On several instances, there were pins literally stuck in their flesh.³⁰ Several of her neighbors claimed their livestock had become stricken after the accused had paid a visit to their homes. Edward Putnam testified that while the suspect was visiting his home his daughter "Fell into grievous fits of choking, with her feet and hands twisted in a grievous manner," and cried that it was Corey who was responsible for her agony. According to Putnam, after his daughter had calmed down, she told Corey of the several times she had watched the woman suckle a small bird, a familiar, between her fore and middle fingers. With that, Putnam recounted, his daughter's body was once again wracked by horrible fits.³¹ After three days of emotionally charged testimony, which included three accounts of spectral appearances, the jury found Martha Corey guilty of witchcraft. She was hanged in September, but not before she saw her husband Giles pressed to death for refusing to enter a plea on charges of witchcraft.

Elizabeth How was arrested and tried for witchcraft in May, 1692. As in so many other cases that received guilty verdicts, How's accusers fell into violent fits upon seeing the suspect. However, the overwhelming type of evidence presented against her concerned illness following a visit by the accused. Joseph Safford testified that after arguing with the suspect, he, his wife, and their young child became seriously ill.³² A number of other charges were made, accusing her of bewitching livestock. Her brother-in-law, John How, told the court that after a disagreement with Elizabeth, his prized pig "leaped up three or four foot high, turned about and gave one squeake and fell down dead."³³ He had no doubt that Elizabeth

30. Hansen, Witchcraft at Salem, 70.

31. Boyer and Nissenbaum, Salem Witchcraft Papers, I, 264.

32. Ibid., 452.

33. Ibid., 450.

was responsible. The jury apparently agreed, for after a short deliberation, they returned a guilty verdict. Elizabeth How was executed in July.

The individual cases examined thus far all ended in guilty verdicts. However, the majority of those defendants appearing before the Court of Oyer and Terminer were acquitted. During the trial of Mary Bradbury, the overwhelming testimony was spectral in nature. It was presented in the same manner and by those who delivered such evidence in cases found guilty, yet Mary Bradbury was acquitted.

Sarah Buckley was brought before the court in May 1692. During her trial, Ann Putnam testified that the specter of Buckley tried to choke her and force her to sign the Devil's book. Elizabeth Hubbard and Mary Walcott also testified to their being tortured by the apparition of Sarah Buckley. The evidence against Sarah Buckley was entirely spectral in nature and yet she was acquitted.

During the trial of Abigail Hobbs, the majority of evidence presented concerned spectral evidence testimony. Mercy Lewis, Ann Putnam, Mary Walcott, and Elizabeth Hubbard all swore that they had been visited by the specter of Hobbs. Like Buckley, Hobbs too was acquitted.

Sarah Proctor was tried in May 1692 on charges of witchcraft. Elizabeth Booth, Mary Walcott, and Susannah Seldon all recounted nightly visitations by Proctor's apparition. During these visits, the accused tortured the young women and urged them to sign a black book. Similar testimony was also given by Thomas Putnam, David Ferneax, and Jonathan Walcott. Sarah Proctor was found not guilty of practicing witchcraft.

In all, seventy-three percent of those cases ending in acquittals recorded a significant amount of spectral testimony. Clearly spectral evidence was not as damning to one's defense as is currently believed.

If spectral testimony had been given as much weight as has been ascribed to it by historians, more than nineteen would have been convicted and executed.

In less than a year, nineteen people were found guilty of dabbling in the black art and executed. The evidence used to convict the nineteen appears circumstantial by today's legal standards. That which has received the most attention was spectral evidence. Historians like Hansen and Starkey have expounded on the important role spectral evidence played in the conviction of those suspected of witchcraft yet fail to substantiate their claims. It was admitted as testimony -- that fact is obvious. What is less clear is the amount of consideration it was given by the magistrates and juries.

It is important to remember that those who presided over the Salem trials were trained in English law. In dealing with matters of witchcraft, they, like their English counterparts, would have looked for assistance to those legal handbooks that dealt with the subject. These discourses clearly questioned the validity of spectral evidence. Salem officials followed the prescribed English procedures from arraignment through conviction. They accepted the same types of evidence as were admissible in English courts, and openly stated that the Bury St. Edmunds trial was used as precedent in Salem. For these reasons it appears unlikely that Salem magistrates would weigh spectral testimony heavily.

It must also be remembered that Massachusetts Bay relied heavily on Scripture, with its citizens looking to their ministers for guidance. The Salem magistrates were no different. Early in the proceedings, they petitioned the Boston clergy for advice in handling the trials. The document that was drawn up made clear the ministers' position. In it they stressed the need to be critical and to avoid placing "too much credulity

on things received only upon the Devil's authority" and warned that the magistrates "should not be ignorant of his devices." The divines stated emphatically that "convictions whereupon persons may be condemned as guilty of witchcraft, ought certainly be more considerable than barely the accused person being represented by a specter unto the afflicted," and "that a Demon may, be God's permission appear even to ill purposes in the shape of an innocent, yea, and a virtuous man."³⁴ In A Brief and True Narrative of Witchcraft at Salem, author Deodat Lawson warned that "Satan endeavors to transform himself into the Angel of Light" and "Rages principally amongst the visible subjects of Christ's Kingdom and makes use (at least in appearance) of some of them to afflict others."³⁵ From their writings it is clear that the clergy also saw problems with admitting spectral testimony.

An examination of the trial transcripts reveals some interesting findings. In the nineteen cases that ended in convictions, the evidence presented was wide and varied and testimonies were numerous. Of the eleven categories of testimony, clearly the most often presented concerned the fits experienced by the afflicted upon seeing the accused. This seems to suggest that this highly tangible form of evidence figured greatly in the convictions. As for spectral testimony, it appears in nearly all those cases that ended in a guilty verdict. However, if the cases of those who were acquitted are examined, it becomes clear that spectral evidence was also included in their trials, yet they escaped the noose.³⁶ All of these facts seem to indicate that while spectral testimony was permitted in Salem, it was not weighed heavily by the magistrates and therefore its presence was not

34. Hansen, Salem 164.

35. Deodat Lawson, A Brief and True Narrative of Witchcraft at Salem (Boston, 1692), 10.

36. See the appendix for a numerical breakdown of the types of evidence that were presented.

enough to ensure a conviction. In each of the nineteen cases that ended in conviction, there was a substantial amount of physical evidence presented.

In 1692, nineteen individuals lost their lives on Gallows Hill -- that fact has not changed. However, after thoroughly examining the evidence, one can see that the reason for their conviction and execution has.

APPENDIX

Those Executed for Witchcraft

Code for types of evidence presented against the accused-

A- sight of the accused caused fits in those afflicted

B- mischief following an argument between the accused and afflicted

C- spectral testimony

D- illness or death after being cursed/visited by the accused

E- questions of moral or religious character

F- sighting of a familiar

G- puppets or dolls found

H- testimony against accused by a relative or confessed witch

I- seen at a witch meeting

J- presence of a witches teat

K- possessing supernatural powers

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>J</u>	<u>K</u>
Bridget Bishop	1	5	3	4	1	2	2	1	1	1	0
George Burroughs	6	0	5	0	1	3	0	0	2	0	8
Giles Corey*											
Sarah Good	3	2	5	9	0	2	0	0	2	1	0
Rebecca Nurse	4	0	6	6	0	0	0	0	2	1	0
John Proctor	5	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Martha Carrier	1	1	0	4	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Martha Corey	4	1	3	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Marty Easty	6	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Elizabeth How	1	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
George Jacobs	6	0	3	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	0
Susannah Martin	2	0	4	10	0	3	0	0	0	1	2
Alice Parker	2	0	1	3	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
Mary Parker	2	0	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Ann Pudeator	6	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
Willmott Reed	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Margaret Scott	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Samuel Wardwell	2	0	1	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	2
Sarah Wildes	3	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
John Willard	5	0	8	7	1	2	0	0	0	0	1

*Giles Corey was pressed to death for refusing to enter a plea.

Those Acquitted

[illegible]

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>J</u>	<u>K</u>
Mary Derich											
Ann Dolliver	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Lydia Dustin				died in prison							
Sarah Dustin											
Rebecca Eames				confessed witch							
Ester Elwell	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Martha Emerson	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
Joseph Emons											
Phillip English	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Thomas Farrer	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Edward Farrington											
Dorothy Faulkner				confessed witch							
Elizabeth Fosdick											
Ann Foster				confessed witch - died in prison							
Nicholas Frost											
Eunice Fry											
Dorcas Good		0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mary Green											
Elizabeth Hart		0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Margaret Hawkes											
Sarah Hawkes				confessed witch							
Dorcas Hoar				confessed witch							
Abigail Hobbs	0	0	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Deliverance Hobbs				confessed witch							
William Hobbs	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Elizabeth Hubbard	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Francis Hutchins											
Mary Ireson											
John Jackson, Sr.	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
John Jackson, Jr.	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Margaret Jacobs	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Rebecca Jacobs	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Elizabeth Johnson, Sr.				confessed witch							
Elizabeth Johnson, Jr.				confessed witch							
Rebecca Johnson	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>J</u>	<u>K</u>
Stephen Johnson			confessed witch								
Mary Lacey, Sr.			confessed witch								
Mary Lacey, Jr.			confessed witch								
John Lee	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Jane Lilly	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mary Marston			confessed witch								
Sarah Osborne	0	0	4 died in prison								
Mary Osgood			confessed witch								
Sarah Pease											
Joan Peney											
Hannah Post			confessed witch								
Mary Post											
Susannah Post			confessed witch								
Margaret Prince											
Benjamin Proctor											
Elizabeth Proctor	4	0	9	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
Sarah Proctor	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
William Proctor	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sarah Rice											
Susannah Roots	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Henry Salter	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
John Sawdy											
Ann Sears											
Susanna Sheldon											
Abigail Somes					0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Martha Sparks											
Mary Taylor			0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tituba			confessed witch								
Job Tookey	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jerson Toothaker	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mary Toothaker			confessed witch								
Roger Toothaker		0	0	1 died in prison							
Johanna Tyler			confessed witch								
Martha Tyler											
Mercy Wardwell			confessed witch								

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>J</u>	<u>K</u>
Sarah Wardwell											
Mary Warren											
Abigail Williams											
Sarah Wilson											
Mary Witheridge	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

These figures were compiled from The Salem Witchcraft Papers, verbatim transcripts of the legal documents of the Salem Witchcraft outbreak of 1692, Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, editors.

<u>EVIDENCE</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>
FITS	19(19)	16(39)	100%	41%	53%	47%
ILLNESS	16(19)	4(39)	84%	10%	80%	20%
SPECTRAL	15(19)	28(39)	79%	72%	35%	64%
FAMILIAR	9(19)	5(39)	47%	13%	64%	36%
MEETING	6(19)	3(39)	42%	8%	73%	27%
POWERS	7(19)	1(39)	37%	2.5%	88%	12%
MISCHIEF	6(19)	2(39)	32%	5%	75%	25%
WITCH'S TESTIMONY	5(19)	6(39)	26%	15%	45%	55%
TEAT	5(19)	1(39)	26%	2.5%	83%	17%
CHARACTER	4(19)	3(39)	21%	8%	57%	43%
DOLLS	2(19)	0(39)	11%	0%	100%	0%

A- number of times the type of evidence appears in 19 cases found guilty.

B- number of times the type of evidence appears in the 29 cases acquitted.

C- considering type of evidence, percentage of cases resulting in a guilty verdict

D- considering type of evidence, percentage of cases resulting in an acquittal.

E- considering type of evidence, percentage found guilty taking into consideration all cases tried.

F- considering type of evidence, percentage found guilty taking into consideration all cases tried.

These figures were compiled from The Salem Witchcraft Papers, verbatim transcripts of the legal documents of the Salem Witchcraft outbreak of 1692, Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, editors.

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VITA

Susan Kay Ocksreider

Born in Norristown, Pennsylvania, 20 September 1960. Graduated from Perkiomen Valley High School, May 1978. B.A., magna cum laude, Millersville State College, 1982. In September 1982 entered the College of William and Mary as an Historic Sites Intern in the Department of History.